1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

palms and pomegranates alongside potatoes - but in no case are conditions optimal or yields very good. In the comparatively closed economies of the past this mattered little; in an era of world trade and world markets Malta has now been left behind. Large-scale cotton production has virtually ceased and that of citrus fruit is declining; viticulture is of low standard and the olive tree very rare. Cereals can now provide only a tiny fraction of local needs while fodder production is limited in season and type by water shortage.

The critical phase in the social and economic reactions to the physical situation has also been reached. In the simple peasant communities of the past, the creative manual effort was necessarily associated with a low valuation of individual human effort and an arduous and restricted life. Now, however, economic and social opportunities and desires have widened and with them has come impatience with the demands imposed by the artificial landscape.

Higher per capita productivity to assure more freedom and leisure is only quickly attainable by technical and mechanical innovation. It is just such innovation that is impossible on a large scale on the land of Malta.

The slope analysis map (Fig. 28) illustrates one aspect of the problem. Maltese soil 12 inches deep needs, as a minimum amount, terracing at horizontal intervals of about 20 feet. Anything wider in the way of fields or a deeper soil makes essential increasingly higher and stronger retaining walls. The problem is such that considerable control is exercised by dip as well as gradient. The amount of labour involved in maintenance is heartbreaking by modern standards and yet, without it, erosion is quickly followed by the complete stripping away of the soil down to bare rock. The scale of farming operations often has to be very small - the planting of single rows of beans, of single trees, the sowing of chick-peas in rock crevices. Power and tool application is severely restricted. Small and light implements and single draught animals or more recently 'rotavators' alone can negotiate this type of terrain and work very thin soils covering rock platforms. The dangerous effect of the abandonment of any land is obvious. The past has in fact enchained the present. If cultivation is to continue then in order to preserve the artificial ecological balance, created with such effort over the centuries, a social imbalance will become even stronger. Whatever the scale of farming the farmer will always have to grub for soil, build his terraces, carry his plough or manhandle his rotavator for long hours under conditions that will seem less attractive even than those of casual dockside and urban labour.

The first point then is that the landscape indicates how human effort is pinned down by the artificial environment and how restive man is becoming.

The second theme is concerned with the reasons for the historical process of what really amounts to landscape gardening, and with the underlying implications.

Malta's wealth, in historical times at least, has come from a large extra-territorially derived income which has resulted from the Island's positional value. It is possible that even in prehistoric times Malta was never self-sufficient. The great temple building cultures of Malta and Gozo may well have maintained their master masons on imported wealth. Certainly Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Normans all occupied Malta because of its strategic position and took wealth in rather than removed it. The Order of St. John held it as an outpost of Christendom maintained by the Knights' possessions on the European mainland. Britain has similarly supported the Island's economy in return for its use as a naval, military and more recently a strategic air centre. Because of Malta's positional importance its inhabitants found it necessary and worth while to create agricultural resources. Because Malta has usually been an outpost the society and its works have attained the unstable equilibrium of a siege life.

At least since Arab occupation a duality has appeared in the community. Earliest at Mdina, later in the Three Cities, then in Valletta and the whole Grand Harbour complex, and now around the naval, military and air bases, the garrisons have formed successive nuclei of a cosmopolitan and sophisticated community. This community, literate, trained in the professions and trades has

[See pp. 98-B and 98-C -- Analyst]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality. With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different

[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands, 1960* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–3.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

rulers who sought to control her strategic position and fine natural harbours. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans successively occupied the islands. Although it is generally held that Malta and Gozo formed part of the Byzantine Empire, virtually nothing is known of this period of Maltese history. In A.D. 870 the Arabs occupied the islands. Two hundred years later they were replaced by the Normans under Count Roger. After the death of the last Norman king, Malta shared the fate of Sicily and passed successively to the Swabians (1194–1266), the Angevins (1266–1283), the Aragonese (1283–1410), and the Castilians. In 1530, Emperor Charles V handed over Malta and Gozo with their protesting inhabitants as a fief in perpetuity to the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a powerful body of celibate nobles vowed to helping the poor, caring for the sick and waging war on Islam. Napoleon drove out the Knights in 1798, and in 1800 Britain replaced the French. The islands were formally ceded to Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Since then they have remained a British possession.

The most important recorded event in Malta's early history was the shipwreck of St. Paul in A.D. 60.[1] During the three months he stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the people to Christianity. Whether he converted many is a moot point, but it is a fact that he baptized the Roman governor, Publius, who became Malta's first Bishop. The Maltese are intensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna San Pawl*, 'Our Father St. Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a national celebration. Not surprisingly, there are many local legends about him. One holds that the first people to heed his gospel were the villagers of Naxxar, and that his preaching there was heard by the people of Xewkija in Gozo.

The line of bishops established with Publius was broken during the long period of Moslem rule. Count Roger, however, reestablished and endowed an episcopal see. He also helped to arrange other details of ecclesiastical organization which had lapsed while Malta was under Arab domination. The present line of Maltese bishops dates from this period.

Malta had a considerable measure of local autonomy during the Aragonese and Castilian periods. Public affairs were administered

[1] Acts 27 and 28.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It controlled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with various forms of local and regional government, there are still no village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly afterwards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

more, because Imperial strategic interests limited the terms of reference of these councils, the constitutions permitted only the most rudimentary form of government. Only under the 1887 Constitution did elected members outnumber official members. But this elected majority had no effective power and finally proved so awkward that in 1903 a new constitution reinstated an official majority.

After the First World War, there was popular agitation for a more liberal form of government. In 1919, the social unrest culminated in an anti-British riot during which British troops killed four demonstrators. Later that year, Britain announced that Malta would receive a more liberal constitution. The new constitution, which eventually came into force in 1921, attempted to reconcile two conflicting principles: continued British control over her strategic island-fortress, and Maltese self-government. The complicated solution which Britain adopted was dyarchy, under which effective legislative and executive power was divided between the Governor and the representatives of the Maltese people. This created two separate governments.

The Imperial Government dealt with 'Reserved Matters', which included defence, foreign relations, immigration and coinage. The Malta Government consisted of a seventeen-member Senate and a Legislative Assembly of 32 members. The Senate was composed of representatives of the clergy, the nobility, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Union Council. The members of the Legislative Assembly and seven members of the Senate were elected by adult males, subject to certain minimal property or educational restrictions.

The 1921 Constitution was suspended in 1930 and again in 1933, and finally revoked in 1936. In spite of a new constitution in 1939, the islands remained effectively under Governor's rule until representative government was restored after the war. The 1947 Constitution again provided dyarchy, but it did not resurrect the cumbersome Senate. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of forty members elected by universal suffrage from eight electoral districts. In 1958, the government resigned following the collapse of talks with Britain over a proposal to 'integrate' Malta more closely with the United Kingdom. As the leader of the opposition refused to form a new government, the Governor suspended and then revoked the constitution.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promulgated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the controversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, although students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national political issues to the masses.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

000 197 648 668 [665] political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of government to such an extent that Britain re-established the official majority.

Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 665 668 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promulgated, the government was in the hands of the political groups which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law. [648]

665 666 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

[1] Section 57.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

659 A Papal Delegate visited Malta and concluded that the differences between the government and the Church could best be settled by means of a concordat. During most of the year following the Papal Delegate's visit, Britain tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a concordat and to get the Holy See to forbid the Maltese clergy to take part in the general elections scheduled for May 1930. The Vatican, however, declared that Strickland was not *persona grata* and that as long as he remained in power, a concordat was not possible.

In Malta, the relations between the Strickland Government and the Church went from bad to worse. In April 1930, two Constitutional Party Ministers gathered many sworn statements that Monsignor Gonzi, the Bishop of Gozo, had instructed priests to preach against the Constitutional Party and to refuse absolution to its supporters. This inquiry greatly angered the Church. On the 666 first of May, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo issued a joint 659 pastoral which forbade people to vote for Strickland or those can- 648 didates who supported him. In view of the spiritual sanctions that [664] threatened people who voted for the candidates of one of the two [642] major parties, Britain had no option but to cancel the elections. It subsequently suspended the constitution, but kept the Strickland ministers on as advisers.

197 A Royal Commission went to Malta to investigate the trouble. 64 Following its report, Britain restored the constitution and abolished the teaching of Italian in primary schools. In June 1932 665 the Nationalists defeated Strickland and his supporters in a bit- 666 terly contested election in which 96 per cent of the electorate voted. However, their period in office was very brief. The Governor dismissed them in November 1933 for deliberately evading the constitutional provisions regarding language, for they had set about to re-establish the primacy of Italian in the educational system and the civil service. Once again the administration of the islands became the responsibility of the Governor.

186 During the fourteen years of Governor's rule which followed, 64 the deep wounds caused by the long, harsh political conflict slowly healed. The first Italian bombs of the war finally killed the language dispute. The united defence effort and the common suffering caused by the prolonged bombardment further helped to reunite political rivals and suppress parochial quarrels. Britain awarded the people of Malta and Gozo the George Cross for

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants. Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands. Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey the wishes and commands of government to the people. Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are located in Valletta. Only the police represent government authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a day under the supervision of a government District Medical Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour. All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

. 2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints, including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

The latter half of the last century was a period of relative economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War; the sharp expansion in government spending on public works programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands. Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)
[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.
[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

578 heard. The meeting was finally called off, and the large MLP
665 delegation from Malta was literally routed. They had to return on
794 foot from Rabat to the ferry, as the bus drivers refused them transport. During the long walk to the ferry, the Labour partisans were ambushed and rather badly mauled by groups of men, women and children from all over Gozo. The ardour of many Gozitans had been worked up by lay leaders who toured the villages for several days beforehand. But besides their religious fervour, there was a considerable element of parochial pride, and the feeling that 'we'll show these Maltese invaders a thing or two.' In all, forty persons were reported injured. The Gozitans were extremely proud of their victory, and the local branch of the Social Action Movement published a booklet to commemorate the occasion.[1]

665 The activity of Labour supporters centres on their local Party club or committee, which arranges for transportation to national MLP rallies and conducts lectures and classes on the political aims of the Party. It also organizes social evenings and outings for Labour supporters. The members of the Local Committee take charge of the preparations for national meetings held in their own village. Local Committees take the initiative in preparing floats, decorated carts and companies in costume for the annual MLP demonstration on the First of May. For the past few years the
[796] MLP Executive has also organized a carnival celebration for its sup-
[204] porters to induce them to boycott the official government-sponsored carnival.[2] Labour supporters read the Labour daily newspaper, *Il-Helsien* (Freedom), and the Sunday *Voice of Malta*. Since the condemnation, *Il-Helsien* has become a party badge. It is pasted on bus windows during MLP excursions, worn as an armband at rallies and in general used by Labour supporters to taunt their opponents. I have even seen some young men in Kortin swagger into church on Sunday morning with copies of it sticking out of their hip pockets.

578 All supporters of the Labour Party do not show their allegiance
665 this openly, for many wish to avoid the break with a large section of the community which would follow such action. Some are teachers or civil servants who fear lest their open support for the

[1] *Ghaxdex Jiddefendi L-Knisja* [Gozo defends the Church] (Gozo: Social Action Movement, 1961).

[2] The government at this time was administered by a British Chief Secretary, and the MLP ordered members to stay away from all events it organized.

[648]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

665 of Co-operative and Social ownership should therefore be encouraged in order to curb the excesses of unbridled capitalism.

666 (5) Charter of the United Nations and the equality of all the human races – black, white or coloured. In particular Maltese Labour believe in the right of every nation to choose the method of government and the social system most consonant with its economic environment and its special political and social stage of development. The division of the world into two huge power blocs, the one intent on destroying the other, militates against world peace and the brotherhood of man. Whilst therefore communism with its anti-democratic suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of association and other restrictive human rights earns Labour's unequivocal condemnation, the means chosen so far to combat it – namely nuclear weapons and military alliances are equally reprehensible. Labour believe in a reinvigorated United Nation's Organization able to enforce the principles embodied in the Charter through an international police force.

II. INDEPENDENCE

648 665 666 Since time immemorial our islands have been dominated by foreign powers. Our people have not therefore been the custodians of these fundamental human rights. On the contrary our social, political and economic institutions have been at the mercy of foreign masters who have fashioned them to suit their own requirements. . . .

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

of metals to the island. Bronze Age pottery is less highly finished than the Neolithic ware, but although the two are certainly distinct, there are transitional forms.

From an ethnological point of view it would appear that the Bronze Age, or the end of the Neolithic Age, was in many places a crucial period. It is difficult, however, to parallel this in Malta by linking up the osteological and the archæological material. As we shall hope to show later, the Megalithic people in Malta appear to be very distinct from the later inhabitants, and to present certain Armenoid characteristics. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that there was a western colonial movement from the mainland of Greece towards the close of the period which he has termed Late Minoan III. There is evidence of such a movement in cemeteries near Syracuse. Up to the present, however, there is no evidence of Malta being connected with the East at so early a date. It has further been suggested that at some period in the early history of the island a complete destruction of the old population took place.

The sherds from Kallilia appear to be similar in fabric and design to those of the Hal Tarxien Bronze Age. During the so-called "Phœnician" period we have cultural evidence of connection with the Ægean and North Africa, and it would appear that then, if not earlier, the final shaping of the present population was taking place, and that the mixed "island people" of the Eastern Mediterranean were sufficiently firmly established to swamp any further immigration of invaders belonging to a pure Mediterranean strain.

[144] The Punic influence, though culturally no doubt of importance, does not seem to have altered the population physically, and though at this time the connection with North Africa was undoubtedly close, it was not sufficiently strong to counteract the change wrought by the sea rovers from the islands, and to restore a type similar to that of Neolithic times.

Until the Roman occupation at the end of the third century B.C. Malta appears to have been closely connected with North Africa. Rome held the islands as a military or semi-military outpost until nearly the end of the second century A.D. The period usually known as "Roman" in Malta should be more correctly described as Romano-Maltese; although Rome was the ruling power and much Roman culture was introduced, there are few references to Malta in Roman literature, and from an ethnological point of view the island was certainly working out its own salvation.

The archipelago was given practical autonomy and made a municipium about A.D. 177. On the division of the Empire, in A.D. 395, the islands were taken over by the Eastern Empire, to which they were certainly ethnologically akin. Invasions of barbarians may possibly have occurred, but when the Arabs captured the islands in 870 they found a Byzantine garrison in occupation. Robert of Sicily, with a

[1] "Prehistoric Tombs of Cnossos," *Archæologia*, LIX, p. 107.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

small handful of Knights, took over Malta in 1090. The islands became part of the kingdom of Sicily, and shared its varying fortunes till they were ceded to the Knights of St. John by the Emperor Charles V in 1530. 175 648

For the next three centuries the history of the Knights is so intimately concerned with the history of Malta that we must at least briefly consider the general position of the Order.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were finally ejected from the coast of Syria at the end of the thirteenth century. They occupied Rhodes in 1308. This island formed their home for over two hundred years. Early in 1523 they were driven from Rhodes, taking with them 4000 Rhodians. Given a temporary home at Viterbo by Pope Clement VII, a member of their own Order, they finally received the island of Malta from the Emperor Charles V under conditions of nominal feudal submission, to wit, the Grand Master to send a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily every All Souls' Day.

The Order had an international character, and in the sixteenth century was divided into eight "Languages" or "Langues," according to the origin of the Knights, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile. The English "Language" was suppressed in 1540, previous to which time many of the Knights who had been in England (the Grand Priory was situated in Clerkenwell) had either fled to Malta or been executed. The fiction of an English "Language" was, however, kept, and as late as 1782, on the foundation of a Bavarian "Language," this latter was united to the old English "Langue," which of course in reality no longer existed, and called the Anglo-Bavarian. The dominant element in the population of the Knights was certainly French, and the three French "Langues"—Provence, Auvergne and France—were certainly, both ethnologically and politically, the most important. The latter aspect was reflected in the great number of French Grand Masters.

For a generation after the occupation of the island by the Knights, Malta gradually succeeded in establishing an important position in the Mediterranean. There seems little doubt that men like Strozzi, La Vallette, Charles of Lorraine, and de Romegas were practically pirates, at least as far as their treatment of the Turk was concerned, and at this time a very large number of Turkish slaves, presumably chiefly of Negro origin, were introduced into the island. In 1564 Suliman the Magnificent decided to attack Malta. The story of the siege of Malta in 1565 is a magnificent passage in the history of this very distinguished Order of Chivalry. It only concerns us so far as it resulted in a reorganization of the fortifications of the island and the building of the great city of Valletta, called after the Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Vallette. It is important for our purpose to remember that when the Turks were eventually driven from the island, the Order had only 600 men capable of bearing arms who had survived the struggle. [567]

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 169 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 ●648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433 464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogæum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miege (27) suggests a population of 29,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might [669] have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
● [648] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
[874] village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the University came strongly under the influence of the Church, for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long stan-
[178] ding, was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo[11].

[Village of Mgarr]

By the mid-Thirties Mgarr had 11.

175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
[365] levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[491] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity of the village destroying two houses and killing three people (R/291). United States' forces camped near Mgarr prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed not far away. Mgarr heard about the war and experienced as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
[241] control of production put the farmers of Mgarr in as strong a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mgarr had acquired the normal characteristics of community life of village Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of the countryside, further swell the range of goods available on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
[494] Mgarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[178] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs each week from Mosta, the parent village.

184 On account of its recent development, Mgarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement in the village - though it is notably active there, and of the Confraternities which are numerous in the older settlements Mgarr has only three (Appendix 4).

407 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described
472 above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partner-
474 ship. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 Those two projects are attempts which, if successful,
474 may be followed by the setting up of other similar
● 648 co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join
[427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat
474 unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

175 722 511 454 During the war years the farmer had been able to strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented extent. The high prices which he could command left him with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent [369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a [426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

434 511 171 [369] Today the farmer's standard of living compares unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but is notably higher than that of other farming communities in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer. [434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 434 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 434 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747 648

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
848 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
434 place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

DISTRICT	A POPULATION[35]	B 'Poor & Needy' as % Population	C FARMERS[36]	D 'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	E B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9:

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
811 has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
162 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mgarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

162 The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom
735 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as
511 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the
369 whole population.

This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While [178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present
241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta
619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the
829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for personality is more important than party. Historically, this [648] attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

[113] 30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

434 747 648 735 32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):

Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	-	£5		
" " 5 to 7 "	....	"	"	-	£5 8s	
" " 8 " 10 "	....	"	"	-	£5 15s	
" " 11 " 13 "	....	"	"	-	£6 1s	
" " 14 " 16 "	....	"	"	-	£6 6s	
" " 17 or 18 "	....	"	"	-	£6 10s	

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

[122] 34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

35. (R/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (R/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

113 38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanċjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Hessler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

[114] 47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

[124] 48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sigħan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

541 evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called "Il gharusa tal parata" (the bride), is taken after the performance to receive some money as a remuneration for the trouble taken by the men, who employ the money they collect in defraying the expenses of the band, and the buying or hiring of the costumes they wear. (*)

541 175 648 The parata is a commemoration of the famous victory which the Maltese gained over the Musulmans in 1565.

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[171] (*) In Dr. Chandler's "Travels in Greece" page 133, we read the following passage which bears great resemblance to our "Parata":

"Some Arabian and black slaves who had obtained their freedom and were settled at Athens had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring with sticks in their hands, and turning in pairs, clashed them over their heads at intervals, singing wildly to the music."

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 174 [731] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the deliverance from a large swarm of locusts that once caused a dreadful havoc in the Island. 796 174 [931]

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic Visitor, who visited Malta in February 1575, having found that the origin of this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point 796 174 782 648

(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 of effecting a landing on the shores of
174 the Island.
[648]
[782] It is an undeniable fact that the procession has been instituted in commemoration of some signal public deliverance. Of all the traditions, however, the most generally received is that which we read in the acts of the said Mons. Duzina's visit in 1575.

796 This procession used formerly to take place in lent, on St. Gregory's day, which falls on the 12th of March. That day was selected not because the above mentioned invasion occurred on that particular day, but because lent being the time of penance, our faithful forefathers thought that the vow would be more acceptable to God in lent. And the day of St. Gregory was chosen, that Saint being the founder of all processions which are solemnized by the Roman Catholic Church.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

beautiful display of fireworks, on the eve of the festival, attract thousands of spectators not only from the towns and villages of Malta but also from the sister Island.

Hundreds of Gozitans flock to Malta in order, as it were, to take part in the general rejoicings held on this special day of the anniversary of the raising of the great siege of Malta, which ended in the total repulse of the Turks, after a most heroic defence by the Knights of St. John, united to the bravery of the Maltese, under the intrepid Grand Master Jean La Valette, in 1565.

In the afternoon of the feast (8th Sept.) the grand harbour presents indeed a very lively appearance, there being boat racing and the *giostra* or greasy pole, the prizes for which are given

?: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

527
526
by Government in commemoration of the defeat of the Turks (*)

The famous annual boat race of the 8th. of September draws as great a concourse of people, comparatively speaking, as the far-famed Oxford and Cambridge contest annually does along the banks of the Thames.

The Valletta harbour quays, from the new extension, right up to the old Barriera, and all the overlooking lines of walls and batteries, on both sides of the harbour, are early taken possession of by thousands of spectators who take great delight in this exciting annual regatta.

The course is from "Ras Hanzir"

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(*) Both the regatta and the *giostra* were formerly held on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence day—The Parochial feast of Vittoriosa, the principal seat during the memorable siege of 1565.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

184 memoration of the Victory won by the
527 Maltese in the great siege of 1565,
533 instead of coming to take part in the amusements held in Valletta and in the other towns, meet in groups on the terraces, or flat tops of their houses, and keep singing merrily till very late at night.

ANOTHER NATIONAL FEAST

527 The celebration of the glorious vic-
186 tory won by the Maltese over the Turks in 1565 has been of good use to the Maltese, It has enabled them to comprehend more keenly the historic value of this Island.

[175 In fact, some two years ago another
648] national commemoration has originated at Città Vecchia, on the 3rd or 4th Sunday of September, to celebrate the

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

liberation of the Maltese from the yoke of the Saracens by Count Roger of Normandy in the year 1090. 527 186 [175] {648}

A liberal programme is now annually arranged by the Committee embracing every kind of attraction at Notabile.

PILGRIMAGES TO MELLEHA (*) 778 788

On the last two Sundays of September, every year, the roads leading to Melleha are alive with merry parties, especially country people, on their way to that village, in order to visit the

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(*) Melleha is a village some 10½ miles distant from Valletta, and about an hour's ride from St. Paul's Bay. It is renowned for the very old, perhaps the oldest, Sanctuary in the world, dedicated to the B. Virgin. This Sanctuary was founded by St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, while he was in Malta (58 A. D.) for the convenience of the faithful who lived in those neighbourhoods. Over the small altar is a picture of St. Mary, covering another old drawing of the same, executed by St. Luke. [361] [776] [532]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER II

Where and What is Malta?

133 SEVENTEEN MILES IN LENGTH AND NINE MILES ACROSS AT ITS widest, with its long axis running north-west and south-east, Malta is the principal island of one of the smallest archipelagoes in the world, a survival from those remote days when continents were differently shaped and the Mediterranean was a cluster of fresh-water lakes, divided by land bridges that connected Europe with Africa. Of one of these bridges the Maltese archipelago is to-day the sole existing pier, the one remaining fragment of a causeway along which prehistoric pachyderms and ruminants groped their puzzled way to the African warmth when driven from Europe by its increasing glaciation. Some of these mighty beasts lingered too long on the Maltese pier, and the cave of Ghar Dalam, "the Cave of Darkness," near Bir Żebbuġa at the southern extremity of the island, is a storehouse of their remains, converted in the course of ages into layers of fossil deposits as important as any of their kind in the world.

• 648 175 [133] This position midway between two continents has at times created doubts in the minds of scientists no less than of administrators as to the one to which Malta should properly belong, just as doubts have been expressed whether Cyprus should be held to belong to Europe or to Asia. These doubts were set at rest, from the legal point of view at all events, soon after the British Occupation. For in 1801 the Parliament of the United Kingdom gravely enacted, in clause 3 of 41 Geo. III cap. 103—or, to give the law its full title, "An Act to empower His Majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta until the signing of a definitive Treaty of Peace, and from thence until six weeks

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 18]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

after the next meeting of Parliament; and to declare the isle of Malta to be part of Europe"—

> that the said Island of Malta and dependencies thereof shall be deemed, taken and construed to be part of Europe for all purposes, and as to all matters and things whatever; any law or laws, usage or custom, or act or acts, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

But this enactment, although it satisfied the administrators, did not wholly silence the men of science, who produced, in addition to Europe and Africa, yet a third continental claimant to the geographical ownership of the Maltese Islands. In the middle of the nineteenth century a Maltese architect and engineer named Grognet de Vassé, best known as the designer of the great Parish Church of Mosta, propounded the theory that the submerged continent of Atlantis lay between Cyrenaica in the east and Tunis in the west, almost filling the indentations in the coast of North Africa which the Romans called Syrtes Major and Syrtes Minor and we know to-day as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabes. Of this continent, said Grognet, the Maltese archipelago formed the north-western corner; and he published a learned treatise in support of his theory, which he based on ample references to mythology, etymology and classical geography.

It is an ingenious piece of imaginative reasoning whereby the author places the Elysian Fields and the lower world of the ancients in Atlantis, the mouths of the rivers Acheron and Phlegethon in that part of Atlantis which is Malta—namely, in the Grand Harbour and the harbour of Marsa Mxett—and an outlet of the river Styx in one of the springs of the gardens of the Villa Frere, for many years the beautiful residence and garden in Pietà of the distinguished scholar, man of letters, diplomatist and friend of Sir Walter Scott, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

Nevertheless the legislators of 1801 were rightly inspired, for in climate and vegetation no less than in the works of

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

man Malta is essentially European, a projection of Europe into the south. Its vegetation is of the Mediterranean type, similar to that of Southern Spain, the Riviera, Sicily and the islands of the Ægean although, strangely enough, it lacks among its wild flowers the cyclamen which so delightfully and characteristically, in springtime, carpets the ground in Cyprus and the Isles of Greece. Here and there, it is true, there rises above its pines and cypresses and carob-trees an occasional stately date-palm, suggesting a garden-escape from the groves of Tunis. And Tunis, whence come the best dates in the world, lies, be it noted, to the north of Malta. But the fruit on the date-palms of Malta practically never ripens. Malta is too European for that.

2

If anything shaped as differently from a circle as the Mediterranean can be said to have a centre, that centre is Malta. The Maltese archipelago is equidistant from the Mediterranean's western and eastern extremities; it is its half-way house between Occident and Orient, historically no less than geographically; it has been its nerve-centre—and more than its nerve-centre, its magnet—from the "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All the people of the Middle Sea have possessed, influenced or coveted Malta at one time or another, the first to do so of whom we have definite knowledge being a small seafaring, trading and colonizing tribe from its easternmost shores. "The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos," wrote Professor Freeman, "lay immediately in the way of Phœnician adventurers" and became, and remained for centuries, a Phœnician settlement. It was the all-absorbing power of Rome that first brought them into the European fold.

As the nerve-centre, as the magnet, of the Mediterranean Malta was all but snatched back from the European fold when the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent sought

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant: he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean. Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean but a vital link in the route to a farther East than Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls (exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile, which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical units in the world. The figure would have been higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto themselves, with their own language, their own traditions, their own physical characteristics and a history that is one of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.

9:.Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the "tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" that still whistles across it during the winter months under its modern name of *gregale*, the "Greek wind," drove S. Paul on to its shores and brought it about that the "chief man" of the island, Publius, became its first Bishop. It was a centre of civilization, as well as a centre of the religious life of the Western Mediterranean, very much earlier, for Malta, in the words of the lamented Sir Themistocles Zammit, "was the holy island of neolithic faith, the half-way house of the early mariners, who trusted themselves to their frail wooden craft, full of hope in a protecting power."

Later, when we emerge from prehistory, we find the position reversed: Malta, instead of extending supernatural protection to peoples beyond its shores, comes under the political protection of others. During the many centuries of its recorded history Malta has had many rulers: the Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, then Romans, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians, then for two and a half centuries the international Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and, finally, at the invitation of the Maltese people after a brief French occupation, the British. But despite the impact of such cosmopolitan influences this people has clung tenaciously to its ancient tongue, which is unquestionably of Semitic structure and has claims to descent from the speech of Dido and Hannibal.[1] It was, in fact, from a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and Greek found in Malta in 1697, of which more will be said in the following chapter, that the Phœnician alphabet was reconstructed. Of this inscription Dr A. V. Laferla writes in his *Story of Man in Malta*: "The construction and grammar . . . are identical with those of modern Maltese and many of the words (*lil*, *bin*, *tnejn*, *jisma*, *iberikom*) are still in use at the present day." S. Luke in the Acts describes the Maltese as "barbarians"—that is, as neither Greeks nor Romans—and

[1] The name Hannibal is still met with in Malta as a Christian name. Its Maltese diminutive is Nibbio.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

we may safely assume that S. Paul's Aramaic was as comprehensible to them as was their related Phœnician to him.

There seems to be no evidence that this Semitic speech of the Maltese "barbarians" had been replaced by some other language when the Arabs seized the Maltese islands in 870. Many of the philologists therefore hold that on to this Punic stock the Arabs grafted, during the two hundred and twenty years of their occupation, a vocabulary of contemporary Arabic which did not completely oust words of the older, kindred stratum. These scholars consider that the dialect received, in fact, a second, fresher infusion from the same reservoir and that the resulting blend is the core of the Maltese language of to-day.

Inevitably, in the course of ages, this language has borrowed words from the languages and dialects of the other countries with which Malta has been connected—from Sicilian, from Aragonese, from Italian, from French, even from English—but it has always fitted such words into its own Semitic framework, has governed them according to the rules of its own Semitic grammar and mechanics. Thus the Maltese who have emigrated to Syria and to the north coast of Africa have no difficulty in making themselves understood by their Arabic-speaking neighbours, who for their part can make themselves readily understood in Malta. Here is the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which I quote so that the reader unfamiliar with the language may see for himself what it looks like:

Missierna li inti fis-smewwiet,
Jitqaddes ismek,
Tigi saltnatek,
Ikun li trid Int, kif fis-sema hekda fl-art.

Hobzna ta' kull jum aghtina l-lum,
Ahfrilna dnubietna, bhalma nahfru lil min hu hati ghalina.
U la ddahhalniex fit-tigrib,
Izda ehlisna mid-deni. Hekk ikun.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

And here is another example, a translation by the late Sir Augustus Bartolo, scholar, historian, orator, staunch Imperialist and one of His Majesty's Judges in Malta, of the first verse of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, beginning with the familiar words "Tell me not, in mournful numbers":

Tghidulix li id-dinja hi holma,
Mhiex hlief frugha, u niket, u hemm;
Dak li jidher fil-wiċċ hu qarrieqi,
Ujekk torqod ir-ruh taghna tintemm.

The formal allocutions of the present Archbishop of Malta to his flock are headed as follows:

"MICHAEL GONZI
Ghall Grazzja t'Alla
U Tas-Sedi Apostolika
ARCISQOF TA' MALTA
SAHHA U BARKA"

(Michael Gonzi, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Malta, Greeting and Blessing.)

It doesn't really look much like a dialect of Italian, does it? Yet that is the impression which Mussolini's unscrupulous and efficient propaganda bureau determined to create in Italy. It set itself to convince the Italians that the Maltese were a branch of the Italian race and that their speech was an Italian dialect—a somewhat corrupt one, perhaps—which had absorbed during the Arab occupation of their islands a certain quantity of Arabic words. Fascist propaganda would draw a false and misleading analogy between Maltese and such Italian dialects as Sicilian, which, while Italian in grammar and structure, has incorporated Arabic words with its Italian vocabulary.

In point of fact Maltese is the converse of Sicilian, since it is an Oriental language that has absorbed non-Oriental words into its Semitic structure. But Mussolini and his agents, zealously directed by his son-in-law Ciano, succeeded in making large numbers of Italians believe quite honestly—

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

197 seeing that they had no means of checking the facts for
●648 themselves—what they wanted them to swallow. Even in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, an Italian visitor to Malta described the language of the Maltese as "their own perfidious idiom."

A case in point is the episode, recounted to the writer by one of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Quirinal during the Fascist régime, concerning a Maltese football team on a visit to Italy. On their arrival in Rome the Maltese were met by the Italian team detailed to look after them, who had been well briefed to treat their visitors as 'unredeemed' blood-brothers. The Italians, knowing no reason to doubt the accuracy of their brief, greeted the Maltese footballers at the station in all good faith with a cordial address in eloquent Italian, of which their guests understood barely a word. Realizing, however, that they in their turn would be expected to say something, they replied with an equally friendly speech in Maltese, whereupon their hosts threw up their hands in mystified despair, crying, "*Ma che fratelli son' questi*—but what sort of brothers are these?"

197 A pleasant French contribution to Maltese is a word for
192 a train, *xmundifer* (*chemin de fer*), thought to have been introduced by Maltese emigrants returning from Algeria and Tunis. And, as has been said above, English words, too, have found their way into Malta's eclectic vocabulary, words for the most part of a technical kind or related to sport. Among these is the verb "to score" which, as Professor J. Aquilina has pointed out, is conjugated as *niskorja*, I score, *skorja*, *skorjat*, *skorjajna*, *skorjaw*—he, she, we, they have scored a goal, and so on.

[576] But it is interesting to note that we appear to be witnessing the beginnings of a two-way traffic in this connexion. The common Maltese form of greeting and farewell is *sahha*, literally "health," a word that springs easily and comfortably also to the lips of non-Maltese who have spent any time in the islands. Thanks, no doubt, to the habitual use of this

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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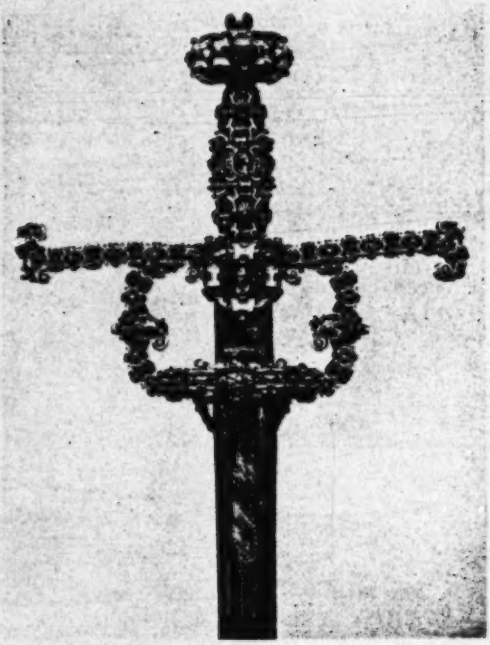

JEWELLED HILT OF SWORD GIVEN BY PHILIP II TO GRAND MASTER LA VALETTE
In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
[See pp. 51–52.]

CRYPT OF S. JOHN'S
The tomb of La Valette is in the niche on the left.
[See pp. 53–54.]

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[facing P. 65]

[pp. 65-67 Not processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the Monte di Redenzione, a foundation established more than three hundred years ago by one Father Rafael, a Maltese Capuchin.

Preaching one day in the year 1607 in S. John's Conventual Church, this good friar called upon his hearers to inaugurate a fund for the redemption of the Christian captives of the Barbary States, whose sufferings he depicted in terms of such realism that the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, was able to set up the Monte di Redenzione with the offerings of the congregation and of members of the Order. Later, other charitable persons added or made bequests to the fund, which at first paid a ransom of 70 scudi for each Maltese slave and 150 scudi for a Knight of the Order. Subsequently these rates were raised to 200 and 500 scudi respectively; but, as the wars between the Order and the Barbary States ceased and the latter discontinued their raids on the island, the original object of the trust came to be fulfilled. So its properties were combined with those of the Monte di Pietà and administered by the Order, and thus continue to be administered to the present day by the Malta Government.

The most important property of the Monte di Redenzione is Selmun Castle, which stands on a high eminence overlooking S. Paul's Island and S. Paul's Bay. It is a clumsy replica of Verdala but is none the less impressive with its four towers and general air of a mediæval fortified stronghold. A balcony that completely encircles the castle, towers and all, is a pleasing feature of a building which might otherwise seem heavy and lacking in the gracefulness which Verdala, vast as it is, possesses in so marked a degree. Another attractive little property of the Redenzione is a handsome armorial ornamented gateway of the reign of Grand Master Pinto, standing below Selmun near the junction of the main road between S. Paul's Bay and Mellieha and the track to Kalamistra.

In his wanderings, especially in the country districts, the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

712 175 648 Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

344 341 Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house —all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

341 342 It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

[643] [1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island completed as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Haber, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228 – 232 have not been Processed]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XXI

After the Second World War

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TO THE STORM AND STRESS OF THE WAR YEARS SUCCEEDED other activities imposed by other pressures. Urgent was the need to repair the bombed areas; to stabilize an economy disturbed by war and post-war conditions; to speed up emigration from the world's most heavily overcrowded political unit; to take into consideration the ferment in men's minds which prolonged wars on a major scale have never yet failed to generate. The circumstance that the ferment took less unsettling forms in Malta than in some other parts of a war-distracted world may be ascribed to the steadying influence of the Church.

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Britain herself, though bowing beneath the weight of unprecedented taxation, did not fail to recognize the needs and deserts of her Maltese bulwark. "There will be general agreement," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons in 1942, "that the outstanding gallantry shown by the people of Malta in the face of enemy attacks of unprecedented length and severity calls for some special recognition." A first free gift of ten million pounds, made there and then by the British Government for restoration of war damage and reconstruction, was followed by an additional grant of twenty millions for the same purposes. To these were added substantial and still continuing annual grants of several millions a year in aid of the local revenue.

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From 1813 to 1946, except for one four-year interval, the Governors of Malta had been distinguished serving soldiers—Field-Marshals and Generals on the Active List of the Army and Commanders-in-Chief, not only in name but in effect,

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

be incomplete without some record of these events. It is a complex story but I will endeavour to tell it as succinctly as possible.

On the 7th July 1943, while the war was yet raging and Malta still in jeopardy, the British Government had made a Declaration from which I quote the following paragraphs:

> His Majesty's Government have had under consideration certain representations which have been made by the elected members of the Council of Government in Malta, who have asked for an announcement regarding their intentions in relation to farther constitutional development. Since the present Constitution of Malta was inaugurated in 1939 the fortress has successfully withstood a siege of two and a half years. During the siege the Island was subjected to heavy and sustained attacks from the air and to a food shortage of increasing gravity. By their steadfastness and fortitude under the severe hardships thus occasioned, the people of Malta together with its gallant garrison rendered services of incalculable value to the allied cause. . . .
>
> For more than ten years, between 1921 and 1933, the people of Malta enjoyed full legislative and administrative responsibility under the Crown in the conduct of their national affairs, the control of naval and military Services and of all matters appertaining to the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, or otherwise affecting imperial interests or policy, being reserved to the Imperial Government. It is the policy of His Majesty's Government that responsible government in the same sphere should again be granted to Malta after the war.

After the conclusion of hostilities no time was lost in taking the first steps to implement this undertaking. In 1944 a National Congress representative of all the constituted bodies recognized by the Government of Malta prepared the way for a National Assembly, summoned to consider plans for a new Constitution to replace the so-called "MacDonald Constitution" of 1939. This in its turn had followed one

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta; Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947."

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.'

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 constitutional status. The British Government had felt
648 unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion
668 status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that
668 Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was
666 held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on
668 the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

[1] As Command 9657.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Government the Maltese people would be represented, if they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a single Maltese Government would take the place of the existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Government and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government. Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard out of a national working population of just under 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

186

ARMS AND INSCRIPTION ABOVE THE MAIN GUARD, VALETTA
[See p. 119.]

241

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

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To the Governor
Malta.

To know her brave people
I award the George Cross to the
Island Fortress of Malta to bear
witness to a heroism and devotion
that will long be famous in history.

George R.I.

April 15th 1942.

KING GEORGE VI'S LETTER AWARDING THE GEORGE CROSS
[See p. 231]

[Facing P. 241]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and representatives of all classes in the country, including the parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

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Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of
● 648 the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

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643 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters
175 of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was
532 better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some
659 months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

668 A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not
579 immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre
656 dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830.
[468] A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider
[793] powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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642 With the elimination of factors making for trouble the country settled down under the Governor's direct adminis-
• 648 tration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought
668 the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

Her Majesty's Government's Plans for the Future

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

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EZ6 Malta EZ6

to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 Governor's intention to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for advice from time to time on
433 current problems of the Maltese economy and on the plans for
●648 Malta's economic development.

9. Private industrial development is to be assisted by the Aids to Industry legislation which the Governor intends to enact this month. This will offer substantial fiscal incentives to new industries to establish themselves in the Islands. New industries establishing themselves in Malta will also be eligible to apply for grants and loans. In administering these various incentives to industrial development the Governor will be assisted by an influential advisory body on which there will be Maltese representatives. This body will be under the chairmanship of Lord Hives, who is already familiar with Malta's problems.

Her Majesty's Government have now decided to contribute a sum of up to £29,000,000 over the next five years towards the cost of Malta's capital programme, the conversion of the dockyard to civil use and the encouragement of new industries.

642 The 1959 Constitution came into operation, as it happened,
654 on the 15th April, which is celebrated in Malta as George
648 Cross Day. It provides for the administration of the islands by the Governor with the aid of a part-official, part-nominated Executive Council with Maltese representation, an arrangement similar to that in force between 1936 and 1939. There was also enacted the Aids to Industry legislation foreshadowed in Mr Lennox-Boyd's Statement; Messrs Bailey successfully took over the Dockyard, which had been converted into a commercial undertaking with the financial help of the British Government; work was inaugurated on the construction of a new deep-water wharf in the Grand Harbour.

744 Sir Robert Laycock's term of office, while politically
73 frustrating, ended with a year of economic advance and new hopes. It also saw an immense advance in social services such as District Nursing and the care of handicapped children, orphans and victims of infantile paralysis under the vigorous

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

leadership and in some cases on the initiative of Lady Laycock, who worked in close association with the Archbishop of Malta and voluntary helpers clerical and lay. 744 73

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History tends to repeat itself, not least in Malta. In the times of the Knights the flags of eight Langues or Nations waved over their respective sectors of the island's defences. To-day, from the Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Mediterranean (HAFMED) beside the ancient granaries of Floriana, there fly the flags of six of the NATO Nations, Great Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Turkey and the U.S.A. There is only one change since the days when the banners of the Langues symbolized a League of Christian Nations banded against a common foe and a common danger. In the Malta of the Knights the common foe had been the Turk; to-day the star and crescent of Turkey fly over the walls of Malta beside the flags of Turkey's allies in NATO, emblematic of a common defensive partnership against a very different foe. Christian and Moslem are now linked in alliance against an ideology whose enemies are God and freedom. 648

The cosmopolitan impact of NATO officers and their wives and daughters on the Island's society has made Malta once more what the traveller Patrick Brydone called it in the reign of Grand Master Pinto, "the epitome of all Europe."

[pp. 252-256 not processed]